

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 200348 TOSEC 090077
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA:ARDAY:TH
APPROVED BY D:WCHRISTOPHER
NEA - MR. SOBER
S/S:JETHYDEN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 200348 TOSEC 090077

NODIS
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM CHRISTOPHER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, IS

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: DAYAN'S ASSERTIONS ABOUT
AMERICAN POSITION CONCERNING WEST BANK (S/S NO. 7721766)

1. WE NOW HAVE EMBASSY TEL AVIV TRANSLATION OF THE
PERTINENT PORTIONS OF TWO INTERVIEWS DAYAN GAVE TO ISRAELI
PAPERS LAST WEEK IN WHICH HE REFERRED TO U.S. SYMPATHY
WITH HIS "FUNCTIONAL PARTITION" APPROACH TO THE WEST BANK
(TEL AVIV 6247, BEING REPEATED TO YOU). DAYAN PUT THE POINT
IN TWO WAYS: BY ASSERTING THAT HIS PLAN IS INCREASINGLY
ACCEPTABLE TO OTHERS, INCLUDING THE U.S.; AND BY SAYING THAT
IN OUR RECENT TALKS WITH THE ISRAELIS THERE WAS "NOT THE
SLIGHTEST HINT OF ANY PROPOSALS BASED ON A PARTITION OF THE
WEST BANK."

2. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER DAYAN GENUINELY MISUNDERSTANDS
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OUR POSITION OR WHETHER HE IS CALCULATINGLY MISREPRESENTING
IT TO THE ISRAELI PUBLIC. THERE IS PROBABLY SOME OF BOTH
MOTIVATIONS. IN ANY EVENT, IT WOULD SEEM IMPORTANT TO
CORRECT ANY MISAPPREHENSION HE MAY HAVE. THE ABSENCE OF
ANY RESPONSE ON OUR PART WOULD ONLY FORTIFY AN IMPRESSION
THAT WE SYMPATHIZED WITH HIS APPROACH, WHETHER OR NOT HE
HAD GENUINELY MISUNDERSTOOD US IN THE FIRST PLACE. WE WOULD

ALSO WANT TO TURN OFF HIS PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT OF THIS THEME,

HICH CAN ONLY COMPLICATE OUR LIVES WITH THE ARABS AS
WELL AS MISLEAD THE ISRAELI AND U.S. PUBLICS.

3. THE FOLLOWING INSTRUCTION TO TEL AVIV, FOR YOUR
APPROVAL, WOULD HAVE SAM LEWIS TAKE THIS UP WITH DAYAN
IN THE SENSE OF STRAIGHTENING THE RECORD.

4. BEGIN TEXT:
IMMEDIATE TO TEL AVIV
E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, IS

SUBJECT: DAYAN'S ASSERTIONS ABOUT AMERICAN POSITION
CONCERNING WEST BANK

REF: TEL AVIV 6247

SECRET/NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. NOW THAT WE HAVE THE EMBASSY'S TRANSLATION OF THESE
TWO DAYAN INTERVIEWS (YEDIOT AHARONOT AND MA'ARIV OF
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AUGUST 19), WE SHOULD CORRECT ANY MISUNDERSTANDING THERE
MAY BE ON DAYAN'S PART ABOUT THE U.S. POSITION ON A WEST
BANK SOLUTION. WHETHER OR NOT HE GENUINELY MISCONSTRUED
OUR POSITION, HE IS LIKELY TO INTERPRET A SILENCE ON OUR
PART IN THE WAKE OF HIS INTERVIEWS AS TENDING TO CONFIRM
HIS ASSERTIONS. YOU SHOULD THEREFORE MAKE THE FOLLOWING
POINTS TO HIM FROM ME:

-- I HAVE BEEN PUZZLED BY YOUR RECENT COMMENTS ATTRIBUTING
TO US A SYMPATHETIC ATTITUDE TOWARD YOUR FUNCTIONAL
APPROACH TO A WEST BANK SETTLEMENT. AS YOU ARE AWARE,
ONE OF THE FIVE PRINCIPLES WHICH I
DISCUSSED WITH ALL OF THE PARTIES DURING MY RECENT MIDDLE
EAST TRIP PROVIDES THAT WITHDRAWAL CALLED FOR IN RESOLU-
TION 242 WILL BE TO MUTUALLY AGREED SECURE AND RECOGNIZED
BORDERS ON ALL FRONTS. WE ARE AWARE OF THE DIFFERENCE OF
VIEW BETWEEN US CONCERNING THE PHRASE "ON ALL FRONTS" BUT
I DO NOT BELIEVE WE GAVE YOUR GOVERNMENT ANY REASON TO
ASSUME THAT THE U-S. HAD IN ANY WAY ALTERED ITS BELIEF
THAT THIS PHRASE SHOULD BE INCLUDED.

-- WE HAVE CONSIDERED AND DISCUSSED WITH THE PARTIES,

INCLUDING ISRAEL, THE POSSIBILITY OF TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS ON THE WEST BANK AND ARRANGEMENTS PROVIDING FOR SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE PALESTINIANS. IN BOTH RESPECTS, HOWEVER, THE UNDERLYING THESIS HAS BEEN THAT THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION WOULD INVOLVE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL.

-- I THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT THAT THERE BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING ON THIS POINT BETWEEN US, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD ABOVE ALL BE CLEAR ABOUT EACH OTHER'S VIEWS ON THESE IMPORTANT ISSUES BUT ALSO BECAUSE PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF THE SORT YOU HAVE MADE, ARISING FROM AN APPARENT MISUNDERSTANDING, CAN ONLY CAUSE CONFUSION IN A SITUATION WHICH IS ALREADY SUFFICIENTLY COMPLICATED.

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-- WHILE WE HAVE NOT SO FAR BEEN ASKED TO COMMENT PUBLICLY ON YOUR STATEMENTS, YOU WILL APPRECIATE THAT IF WE ARE ASKED WE WILL HAVE TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT.

END TEXT.

5. RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU APPROVE THE ABOVE MESSAGE.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

6. DRAFTED: NEA:ARDAY:SEB
APPROVED: D - MR. CHRISTOPHER

CLEARED: NEA - MR. SOBER
S/S:

CHRISTOPHER

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

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